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Maternity, madness and mechanization

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3. Maternity, Madness and Mechanization: The Ghastly Automaton in James Hogg's *The Three Perils of Woman*.

Katherine Inglis

The Meanings of the Automaton

Of all Hogg's works, *The Three Perils of Woman: Love, Leasing and Jealousy* (1823) has the strongest claim to being the most unpopular.ⁱ At the time of publication, it was a critical and commercial failure, condemned as vulgar, coarse, indecent and utterly unsuitable for female readers.ⁱⁱ A brief survey of some of the events in the novel shows why in 1823 this was inevitable: this is a novel in which a sentimental heroine becomes a living corpse, that rewards a 'fallen' woman with a happy marriage, that represents, without sentiment, the brutalization of the rural population by war, and ends with an insane mother singing to her dead newborn. Much of Hogg's work was reissued after his death in a sanitized, Anglicized form (even *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* was reissued for Victorian readers) but *Perils of Woman* proved irrecoverable. Such a novel cannot be 'bowdlerized and domesticated'.ⁱⁱⁱ If an editor were to excise all the elements with potential to offend, there would be no novel: specifically, there would be no mothers.

Events in *Perils of Woman* suggest that maternity is the most profound peril for women. Ostensibly, love, leasing (lying) and jealousy provide the novel's structural and thematic organisation. The first 'peril', 'Love', a version of the 'national tale' genre, is set in modern Edinburgh and its environs; 'Leasing' tells the story of Sally, a serving-maid prone to lying, in the period leading up to Culloden; 'Jealousy' shows the aftermath of the massacre and Sally's descent into madness. Yet this tripartite organization is undone by the novel's irregularity and excess: the named perils creep into other tales, the second and third tales are effectively a single novella, and the first peril dispenses with its main plot and genteel characters, concluding instead with an extended epistolary comic digression. The perils of maternity, however, draw the 'perils' and disparate plots together. One could be forgiven for thinking that maternity was a pathological condition or a crime: the two principal heroines fall into a state of incoherence and abjection during their pregnancies; mothers are cast into asylums, imprisoned, threatened with forcible restraint; neonates

Comment [K1]: p1 – absolutely – this is much better

are stolen and die. Anxiety toward the maternal body, and recurring images of maternal trauma, connect the three perils, yet the maternal body, being a locus of trauma, must also be repressed. Maternity is at once the novel's principal concern and its shameful secret. The generation of children happens out of sight, at the margins of society and geography. The heroine of 'Love', Agatha (Gatty) Bell, gives birth in a private asylum during a three-year period of unconsciousness. Mrs Johnson, Gatty's nurse, thinks that she gave birth to a still-born child, when in fact ~~that her living~~ child was stolen from her. Katie, the heroine of the comic sub-plot, is threatened with a straightjacket by her seducer, who intends to force her to give up her son. Sally gives birth in the wilderness as a widow. Newborns are brought into the world not in triumph, through the *labour* of the mother, but *delivered* mysteriously *from* silent bodies with mechanical efficiency. Or rather, from bodies that are incoherent. They produce language, but a form of language that proves incomprehensible to their auditors, thus frustrating the drive to invest the figure of the mother with meaning. The maternal body is an uncanny form in Hogg's novel: that which in the ideology of the national tale or the historical novel is the repository of national meaning, agency, and continuity, becomes instead an emblem and agent of the disruption of history.^{iv} The canny becomes the uncanny. At the root of this shift in meaning is the representation of Gatty as a 'ghastly automaton' in the first peril.^v The meanings of 'automaton' are – like the meanings of 'uncanny' – by turns fluid and antithetical. These unstable meanings shape the formation, function, and spectacular dysfunction of Hogg's mechanical mothers.

The term 'automaton' expresses two contradictory meanings: self-moving and directed. Though Freud paid the automaton scant attention, finding its uncanny potential less than convincing, the etymological evolution of 'automaton' parallels that of 'uncanny' from 'canny'. *Heimlich*, like 'automaton', expresses two distinct sets of ideas: 'what is familiar and agreeable' (literally, homely) and 'what is concealed and kept out of sight', an idea that develops from the first, as in 'withdrawn from the eyes of strangers' or 'withdrawn from knowledge'.^{vi} The progression of *heimlich* from 'homely' to 'concealed' culminates in the establishment of a sense that is synonymous with *unheimlich*, something that is *unfamiliar* and *disagreeable*, secret or occult. A similar ambiguity exists in the Scots word *canny*, which can mean variously 'safe', 'lucky', 'sagacious', 'of good omen', and – developing from this last usage – 'one who deals with the supernatural'.^{vii} So, paradoxically, a 'canny wife', a

wise woman, is *nae cannie*. Thus the meaning of the word *heimlich*, Freud demonstrated, ‘develops in the direction of ambivalence, until it finally coincides with its opposite, *unheimlich*’, so that *unheimlich* is a ‘subspecies’ of *heimlich*.^{viii} Following a similar pattern, ‘automaton’, which originally meant ‘self-moving’, has over time ‘accrued the meaning of an apparently self-directing process which in reality has its motion determined’.^{ix} Nineteenth-century definitions of ‘automaton’ pair these antithetical meanings as awkwardly conjoined twins. The *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*, which was edited by Hogg’s acquaintance David Brewster, defined ‘automaton’ as ‘a self-moving machine, or machine so constructed, that, by means of internal springs and weights, it may move a considerable time as if endowed with life’.^x So the automaton is at once a true self-mover and a mimic of autonomous motion, a mechanical simile that moves *as if* endowed with life. Thesis slips into antithesis, then comes to be constituted *as* its antithesis. The automaton is defined by its lack of autonomy, thus to be automatous (like an automaton) is to be reduced to a mechanistic semblance of agency. Gatty’s affinity with the paradoxical self-mover reveals the subjugation of her consciousness to a terrifying tyrannical body. That this illustration is made through metaphor rather than simile (the trope most commonly associated with automata) demonstrates the extremity of her degradation: she becomes an automaton indeed, not *like* an automaton. Her fate haunts all mothers in *Perils of Woman*. Maternity is, in a very real sense, ghastly; the conversion of mothers to machines barely metaphorical. However, ghastliness is succeeded by an alternate way of reading the automaton. The *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia* defined the ‘androide’ as a superior automaton:

A machine resembling the human figure, and so contrived as to imitate certain motions or actions of the living man. It is considered as the most perfect or difficult of the *automata* or self-moving engines; because the motions of the human body are more complicated than those of any other living creature.^{xi}

The most perfect of machines overlaps with the most complex of living forms. In the closing pages of the first peril the ghastly automaton becomes an ideal humanoid form in an attempt to render Gatty’s mechanization palatable, a recuperative interpretation that has been read as if it were transparent, but is treated in the most recent criticism of the novel with suspicion. This narrator’s voice is perhaps no more trustworthy than

Comment [K2]: p. 3 Is this clearer or still opaque?

those of the discordant narrators of *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, which was published the year after *Perils of Woman*.

Comment [K3]: p. 4. Hope this is clearer. If it's still confusing, I'm happy to delete the sentence completely.

Hogg's automaton is both a fatal possibility and an ideal, two radically different meanings that can be aligned with two disciplines that imagined the human body as an automaton, respectively galvanism and midwifery. The ideal automaton appears in the awkward coda to Gatty's 'peril', wherein her husband and the colluding narrator attempt to rehabilitate the ghastly automaton, recasting her *degeneration* as a mysterious process of generation, shifting the mechanical mother from the realm of the monstrous to the sublime. Her object, automatonous body is re-imagined as a superbly functional body that performs its work of reproduction more efficiently than it could have done with the distraction of consciousness. It is an extreme, gothic reworking of the representation of the maternal body as a machine in eighteenth-century midwifery literature and medical illustration. Led by William Smellie, whose midwifery courses reduced childbirth to mechanical principles, British midwifery literature imagined the female body as a complex machine (like the android, the most perfect and difficult of all automata), and used automata to represent generation and parturition. The automatonous mother became an ideal in representation and practice. Hogg's fusion of midwifery rhetoric and galvanism drags the automaton down to the level of a dissected electrified corpse, casting doubt on the optimistic interpretation provided by Gatty's husband and the narrator. The galvanized corpse threatens to recur (or reanimate) throughout the novel. The mechanization and objectification of the mother is a terrifying possibility in the novel's comic plot that is tragically fulfilled in the course of the second and third **perils**. Extraordinary acts of violence are done to the bodies of women and children in imagination and in fact: Gatty is likened to a razor blade that should be ground down; a gravedigger slices the lobes off the ears of living children in order to obtain payment for burials he has not performed; communities are laid waste in the aftermath of Culloden. Razors, slicing, butchery: a lexicon of anatomical dissection **reverberates through** the novel, bringing the idealization of the automaton into question.

Comment [K4]: p.5 – I think it reads better without either elude or skirt

Comment [K5]: p.5 reverberate's much better

'As If Endowed With Life': The Galvanized Corpse

Two fantasies of reduction predict the coming of the automaton. Gatty foretells her death, promising she will be 'lying on that bed a lifeless corse' by the next Sunday.^{xii}

She refuses to accept ‘apothecary’s drugs, these great resorts of the faithless and the coward’.^{xiii} Daniel, her father, responds to her rejection of medicine with a prophecy of his own:

Your spirit has often brought me in mind of a razor that’s ower thin ground, an’ ower keen set, whilk, instead of being a usefu’ an serviceable, throws in the edge, or is shattered away til a saw, an’ maun either be thrown aside as useless, or ground up anew. Now, my dear bairn, an this thin an’ sensitive edge war ground off ye awee on the rough hard whinstone of affliction, I think ye will live to be a blessing to a’ concerned wi’ ye.^{xiv}

These two fantasies – of transformation into a corpse and the grinding of metal – are welded together in Gatty’s ‘death’ and reanimation. She becomes a curiously metallic corpse (if not a ‘*lifeless* corse’), and thereafter a useful and serviceable version of herself. Her sharp edges ground off, Gatty becomes Agatha, ‘a blessing to the human race’ as Daniel predicted – but at a cost.^{xv} Gatty’s plea was for autonomy, to decide the manner of her death by refusing medical treatment, but Daniel’s rhetoric of reduction and utility discounts agency entirely. His narrative of destruction and reconstruction is imposed retroactively and governs the way in which Gatty’s ordeal will be understood. Her physical reduction evolves into the reduction and rewriting of her identity.

The grinding of the razor begins with the secret introduction of medication to the death-chamber. Though Gatty had denied the apothecaries, she remains accessible to one surgeon, her husband. Fearing that her apprehension of death will prove fatal, M’Ion administers ‘small portions of a cordial elixir [...] sweetened and diluted with wine and water’ (laudanum) so that she will sleep through the expected moment of death.^{xvi} His stratagem fails. She sinks almost imperceptibly into a deep sleep, and from that to what appears to be death. There are no signs of life, and she is dressed for burial. However, her husband and father (against the wishes of the women laying-out the body) force their way into the death chamber and say prayers that approach blasphemy, demanding her resurrection. It is left unexplained whether what ensues is a punishment for their presumption or a consequence of the laudanum.^{xvii} Both acts – the secret administration of laudanum and the intrusion – compromise female agency. It is fitting that the female body should respond by asserting itself as sheer physical

force. At this point, readers might have expected one of two possible issues: an edifying sentimental death or a fairytale resuscitation in which Gatty is woken by the kiss of her Highland Prince Charming; however, the narrative swerves from these established tracks into a little-trodden path – the outrageous mechanization of the sentimental heroine. She revives, but as an uncanny version of herself, a body denuded of mind: incoherent, aggressive, and infused with kinetic and electrical energy.

Comment [K6]: p.6

Recent critical and biographical studies of Hogg, and the Stirling/South Carolina editions of his collected works, have drawn attention to his informed, imaginative response to the Scottish Enlightenment, demonstrating conclusively that the strangely persistent caricature of Hogg as a superstitious, inspired shepherd-poet, who by some mystery was able to write a single, atypical masterpiece, is a fallacy. In Ian Duncan's study of the novel in Romantic Edinburgh, *Scott's Shadow* (2007), Hogg's fiction is acclaimed as that which is most aware of and responsive to scientific and philosophical progress. Hogg was 'imaginatively more attuned to the intellectual currents of advanced modernity, including radical materialism, than any contemporary Scots author'.^{xviii} This imaginative refashioning of radical materialism is evident in Hogg's unsettling representation of bodies as uncanny *things*. Hogg's uncanny is constituted not of the ethereal sublimity that might be expected of the self-proclaimed 'king o' the mountain an' fairy school' of poetry, but of 'a weird insistence of physical bodies' in the absence of mind.^{xix} In *Perils of Woman*, Hogg reimagines galvanism, playing with its language and anxieties to create a nightmare version of the galvanic body. Reanimation is configured as galvanic theatre: shortly after M'Ion has recognized that a 'spark of life remains', M'Ion and Daniel each place a hand on Gatty's chest – their hands act like galvanic contact points, conducting their blasphemous prayers as animating current.^{xx} His sentimental heroine becomes an 'upright corpse', her continued existence expressing the 'the horror of a mechanistic pseudolife, an animation unendowed with reason or sensibility'.^{xxi} Stripped of agency, reduced to an 'object', the heroine persists in mechanical form.^{xxii}

Comment [K7]: p.7

The danger of galvanism, as its practitioners realized, was that by showing that the body retained a degree of function in the absence of consciousness or spirit, it suggested a resemblance between the human body and a machine. Giovanni Aldini, nephew of Luigi Galvani, protested against this implied kinship:

I should think it a prostitution of galvanism, if it were only employed, to cause sudden gestures, and to convulse the remains of human bodies; as a mechanic deceives the common people by moving an automaton by the aid of springs and other contrivances.^{xxiii}

To align the human with the automaton, that mechanical dissembler, is to debase galvanism; but the deeper, unspoken fear is that galvanic gesture might not be mere deception, but actually equivalent to genuine animation. *Perils of Woman* imagines this extreme outcome of galvanic experimentation. 'Lacking spirit, reason, or voice, the reanimated corpse is a body reduced to a thing, a horrifying nexus of matter and force'.^{xxiv}

There are marked similarities between Hogg's reanimated corpse and Andrew Ure's account of his experiments on the body of a man hanged for murder in Glasgow in 1818.^{xxv} In both narratives, a sentient, named individual becomes an anonymous, mechanistic and vigorously theatrical body. Gatty loses her identity, becoming a nameless 'it', just as in Ure's account the murderer Clydesdale became 'the body' or 'the subject'. Ownership of the body and its narrative passes from the subject to the anatomist/medical practitioner. Ure's first, unabridged account, delivered to the Glasgow Literary Society in 1818 and subsequently published in 1819, is positively theatrical. His style is unstable, switching abruptly from a clinical description of his exposure of the nerves to be galvanized, to a dramatic rendering of the body's gruesome convulsions and the audience's horror.^{xxvi} When Ure applied current to the heel and the supra-orbital nerve in the forehead, the 'most extraordinary grimaces were exhibited':

Every muscle in his countenance was simultaneously thrown into fearful action; rage, horror, despair, anguish, and ghastly smiles, united their hideous expression in the murderer's face, surpassing far the wildest representations of a Fuseli or a Kean. At this point several of the spectators were forced to leave the apartment from terror or sickness, and one gentleman fainted.^{xxvii}

The corpse has become Ure's artistic creation, a spectacle to be gazed at like a sensational painting or a theatrical performance. The mechanistic implications of Ure's staging become clear when he describes setting the pulmonary organs 'a-

playing': the body is effectively a musical instrument, control of which has passed from Clydesdale to Ure.^{xxviii} Clydesdale's body may be perpetually on the verge of coming to life, but its incipient animation is overwhelmed by its reduction to an instrument. Clydesdale becomes an organic automaton manipulated for the edification and entertainment of Ure's audience.

The staging and progress of Gatty's reanimation replicates Ure's account: a supine body is displayed before an audience, performs a sequence of grotesque contortions, comes into violent contact with a spectator, and terrifies the audience:

Behold the corpse sat up in the bed in one moment! The body sprung up with a power resembling that produced by electricity. It did not rise up like one wakening out of a sleep, but with a jerk so violent that it struck the old man on the cheek, almost stupefying him; and there sat the corpse, dressed as it was in its dead-clothes, a most appalling sight as man ever beheld. The whole frame appeared to be convulsed, and as it were struggling to get free of its bandages. It continued, moreover, a sort of hobbling motion, as if it moved on springs. The women shrieked and hid their faces, and both the men retreated a few steps, and stood like fixed statues, gazing in terror.^{xxix}

Electrified, convulsive, moving like a puppet on springs – Hogg's aggressive corpse is mimicking Ure's. Ure recorded that galvanism of the spinal marrow and sciatic nerve produced 'convulsive movements, resembling a violent shuddering from cold', while switching from the sciatic nerve to the heel caused the corpse's leg to be 'thrown out with such violence, as nearly to overturn one of the assistants, who in vain attempted to prevent its extension'.^{xxx} Wrestling matches between the violent corpse and an assistant were frequent in galvanic experiments.^{xxxi} Hogg includes this feature of galvanic theatre in the form of a wrestling match between Gatty and her mother, who attempts unsuccessfully to restrain the body: 'it felt as if it were endowed with unnatural force, for it resisted her pressure, and rebounded upwards'.^{xxxii} Gatty's affinity with mechanism, and with Clydesdale, is confirmed when Hogg describes her as 'this ghastly automaton'^{xxxiii}: the galvanized corpse's smile was also 'ghastly'.

It is significant that Gatty is identified as a 'ghastly automaton' in the moment her mother accepts the terrible object is 'the body of my child, although it appears that the soul is wanting'.^{xxxiv} Gatty's condition is characterized by loss, lack, absence – by

that which is wanting. The automaton is the antithesis of what it impersonates. Gatty is defined by what she is not, as an ‘incomprehensible being’, ‘a face *without* the least gleam of mind’, ‘the poor *remains*’, and ‘the *shattered* and *degraded* frame of his poor wife’.^{xxxv} Even her failed attempts at speech are described in terms of negation: she produces ‘a loud and *unintelligible* noise’ and ‘an articulation that sounded like “*No-no-no!*”’.^{xxxvi} This embodied negation of all that is human is moved secretly to a private asylum, where she ‘became as a thing altogether forgotten’.^{xxxvii}

Superficially, Gatty’s tale ends with a satisfactory resolution. After three years, her mind returns, and she leaves the asylum in a condition that is claimed to be superior to her original state. Her automatism is now revalued by her family (and confirmed by the narrator) as a transformative process that fitted her for her role as a wife and mother. The ghastly automaton produced a sedate matron from the nervous young bride, curing her of the religious enthusiasm that had interfered with her relationship with her husband, fattening her into a beauty, and most impressively, turning her into an insensate incubator. It is important to note at this point that this perspective is not necessarily Hogg’s, whose fiction, particularly *Perils of Woman*, has suffered from the attention of reviewers who were either deaf to irony or could not believe that the Ettrick Shepherd was capable of irony. The sudden irruption of Gatty’s violently corporeal body into a parody of a sentimental death-scene *is* a subversive, ironic act, an audacious riposte to the literary representation of female death as ‘aesthetically pleasing’ and ‘pictorial’.^{xxxviii} This ghastly, ironic automaton will prove an insurmountable challenge to the two optimistic interpretations that form the coda to its tale.

‘The Most Perfect or Difficult of the *Automata*’: The Ghastly Incubator

If the family’s revaluation of the automaton is accepted, and the narrator’s conclusion read as if it is transparent, then Gatty’s reformation appears to be a ‘happy ending’, the ‘triumph of good nature and common sense over excessive and overblown concepts of delicacy and honour’.^{xxxix} The razor has been ground up anew, and thank goodness: ‘If ever there was a woman redeemed from the gates of death to be a blessing to the human race, it has been Agatha Bell’.^{xl} Yet given the brutal, macabre method by which Gatty’s ‘improvement’ has been achieved, this perfunctory eulogy seems an inadequate conclusion. As Douglas Mack has noted, the narrator concludes

uncertainly with a question 'rather than a ringingly confident assertion' of Gatty's perfection: 'Who can doubt that the Almighty will continue to bless such a benign creature to the end, and her progeny after her?'.^{xli} It is always wise to treat Hogg's narrators and their assertions with suspicion. 'Perhaps the conventional happy ending of Gatty's story is not as straightforwardly happy as it seems, if one is willing to look beyond the agreeable and respectable surface of events'.^{xlii} Beneath the agreeable surface of the renovated blessing lies the ghastly body of the automaton mother.

The chronology of Gatty's illness and recovery suggests that she descended into automatism immediately after falling pregnant. Gatty's mind returns after three years, at which point her child is 'two years and three months' old.^{xliii} It was the automaton that gave birth, or rather, was delivered of a child:

In due time this helpless and forlorn object was safely delivered of a son, without manifesting the slightest ray of conscious existence, or of even experiencing, as far as could be judged, the same throes of nature to which conscious beings are subjected.^{xliv}

If the maternal body is a 'teleological figure' in the 'national tale', achieving continuity and resolution through marriage and reproduction, then Hogg's uncanny maternal body 'unmakes' the genre she represents.^{xlv} In a conventional national tale, the birth of Colin M'Ion would bring resolution by uniting the Lowland Bells with M'Ion's Highland estate, but the mechanical method of (re)production destabilizes this resolution. At this time, birth without pain was associated with 'less civilized' women, who were believed to be either totally insensible to labour pain, or less sensible than hypersensitive 'civilized' women.^{xlvi} Gatty's unconscious delivery exposes a natural woman concealed within the rarefied heroine, and reveals that natural woman to be mere mechanism. It would seem that an automaton can be as effective a teleological figure as a national heroine. The 'insensate, mechanical energy' of the body is sufficient 'for the gestation of a child. The body without spirit is a maternal one, the deficiency far from impairing (quite the contrary) its occult powers of procreation'.^{xlvii} Hogg's irony is brutal. Denuded of perception, sensation, mind and identity, the essential female body attains its full potential. Pared down to mechanism, Gatty becomes a perfect incubator – passive, undemanding, unconscious. Civilization, sensitivity, intellect, and subjectivity prove irrelevant to female identity

in Hogg's gothic reworking of the national tale. His principal target is a literary form – the national tale – but Hogg's automaton heroine also recalls the fantasies of mechanical reproduction in eighteenth-century midwifery literature.

Comment [K8]: p.13

In 1821, Hogg and his wife Margaret moved to Edinburgh for the last part of her first pregnancy. She was attended by Dr John Thatcher, man-midwife, lecturer in midwifery and director of a lying-in institution.^{xlviii} Hogg was thus well-placed to learn about recent developments in midwifery. In the 1820s, the University of Edinburgh made it mandatory for all medical students to attend classes taught by the Professor of Midwifery and the Diseases of Women and Children, threatening the livelihood of independent lecturers like Thatcher. Given that students were already studying midwifery with independent tutors, he argued there was no 'imperious necessity to hurry through this improvement'.^{xlix} Beyond Edinburgh, the nascent profession of obstetrics was moving away from the conservative practices that had dominated from the 1770s. The shift ~~in practice~~ to conservatism in the 1770s was driven partly by man-midwives' attendance at a greater number of onset calls and normal deliveries (previously, they were most likely to be summoned in emergencies to perform radical intervention), but equally by the expectations of an aristocratic clientele unlikely to tolerate intrusive examinations.ⁱ The conservative school emphasized the mysterious activity of nature over the labour of the man-midwife and instrumental intervention.^{li} The disastrous management of the pregnancy of George IV's daughter in 1817 prompted British midwives to rethink their suspicion of intervention and the use of instruments.^{lii} David Daniel Davis, appointed royal accoucheur in 1819, published *Elements of Operative Midwifery* in 1825, shifting the consensus back to 'balanced management and selective instrumental delivery, which would have gladdened the heart of William Smellie', the mid-eighteenth-century man-midwife who had worked to reduce childbirth to mechanical principles.^{liii} A revised student's edition of Smellie's *Set of Anatomical Tables* was published in 1823. If Hogg's fictional mechanical maternal body was not responding to the contemporary resurgence of mechanical midwifery, then it was a remarkably serendipitous creation.

Comment [K9]: This wasn't one of your queries, but I've changed tis to the past tense to match the rest of the paragraph

Midwifery courses were taught through a variety of methods besides observation of live birth: lecturers used preserved specimens, wax models, and mechanical representations of the anatomy of the gravid uterus and female pelvis. These devices were known as automata, mock-women, machines and towards the end

of the nineteenth-century, phantoms. Those created by William Smellie were perhaps the most complex ever constructed. One of his students remarked that they were ‘so natural’ there was little difference between the machines and real women.^{liv} No images remain of Smellie’s automata, but descriptions survive in course prospectuses, auction records, and students’ lecture notes. An auctioneer’s catalogue published in 1770 lists among Smellie’s personal effects four machines (one disassembled), four artificial uteri (two made of glass, one opening with a hinge, one made of leather), and nine artificial foetuses (one ‘pretty much used’).^{lv} Each machine had a distinct pedagogical function. One demonstrated natural labours and those made difficult by the circumstances of the child; another more elaborate machine showed the difficulties caused by a narrow pelvis, together with the complete anatomy of the pelvic cavity; a third represented ‘all the different Bowels of the Abdomen’ and the dilation of the uterus.^{lvi} The prospectus for Smellie’s course promised that all variety of natural, difficult, and preternatural labours would be ‘perform’d on different Machines made in Imitation of real Women and Children’.^{lvii} Students learned how to perform examinations using machines, and in the fifth lecture ‘Each Pupil on a Machine delivers a Child coming in the natural Way, inclosed in the *Uterus*, and surrounded with its Membranes and Waters’.^{lviii} Smellie’s lectures were designed around the machines, with ‘almost every observation’ referring ‘to the workings of those machines’.^{lix} An extract from an anonymous student’s notes on the fifth lecture shows the machines’ centrality to Smellie’s teaching method:

I have several artificial women every part of which is made to resemble as exactly as possible what is observable in a natural subject. Having laid one of these women on her back with her head and shoulders a little elevated by pillows, her nates brought to the edge of the couch, & her legs & thighs raised towards the abdomen, I then shew that the os Tincœ is open’d at the Time of Birth and by some previous Pains of the mother, about the Bigness of half a crown, thro this aperture can plainly be felt the membranes [...] By each successive Throw of the mother the os Tincœ is more open’d the membranes waters and child’s head are push’d further out [...] When the os Tincœ is sufficiently open’d to allow the Child’s Head to come out, then we must open the membranes, upon which part of the waters gush out, and along with them

part of the Head, we must immediately lay hold of it, & at the next return of the throws gently draw it forward.^{lx}

Smellie's machines were still used after his death. A Dublin lecturer, Edward Foster, advertised in 1774 that he had procured a machine 'at considerable Expence, and with much Trouble': the 'true Doctrines of Midwifery' were, Foster claimed in the spirit of Smellie, 'at first only intelligible by an Apparatus'.^{lxi}

Smellie's machines polarize modern scholarship on the man-midwifery debates. There is little common ground between histories of the emergence of obstetrics, in which Smellie is a heroic figure, and histories of the suppression of traditional, female-dominated midwifery, which note that the rise of the man-midwife proceeds alongside the disappearance of the mother as a subject from midwifery literature. Earlier midwifery literature described 'the subjective experience of pregnancy' and showed the mother's entire body, but the only complete subject in Smellie's representations is the child.^{lxii} Critical appraisals of Smellie's project take his machines to epitomize a certain kind of clinical detachment from the experience of the mother that reduces her to an organic incubator.^{lxiii} Arguing that Smellie's mechanical mother acclimated the man-midwife to the idea of a clockwork delivery, Bonnie Blackwell concludes that the 'technological innovations of eighteenth-century obstetric education actually set man-midwives at odds with all but the most inert, the most passive, and the most mechanical of mothers'.^{lxiv} In a similar vein, Andrea Henderson argues that the engravings in Smellie's *Set of Anatomical Tables*, which illustrates the progress of labour, represent the mother not as an active participant in labour, 'but *only* as a machine – and an oddly inactive and poorly constructed one at that'.^{lxv} In contrast to William Hunter's realistic images of dissection in *Anatomy of the Gravid Uterus*, Smellie's *Tables* depict bone and clearly differentiated tissue, as in Figure 1, which illustrates forceps delivery. The *Tables* are the visual equivalent of his aspiration to do 'something towards reducing [Midwifery], into a more simple and mechanical method than has hitherto been done'.^{lxvi} A representational style is easy to understand, but has, as William Hunter remarked, 'the hardness of a geometrical diagram'.^{lxvii} This mechanical style, Henderson argues, effaces the mother's subjectivity. Smellie's 'reader is unlikely to ascribe agency to the mother precisely because she never appears in them as a whole being': the *Tables* shows the mother as a series of fragments, and is predominantly interested not with the 'muscular uterus

but with the static and solid structure of the pelvis'.^{lxviii} It is the man-midwife who labours, forcing the maternal machine to work efficiently through heroic intervention and the use of instruments. Such representations, it is argued, shaped actual practice, and continue to do so: the 'metaphor of the female body as a defective machine [...] eventually formed the philosophical foundation of modern obstetrics'.^{lxix} Ludmilla Jordanova finds a 'form of implicit violence' in Smellie's illustration of the use of forceps 'as artificial Hands'; 'representational violence', she warns, ultimately acts to 'permit, legitimate, and even encourage actual abuse'.^{lxx} Mechanistic pedagogy and practices govern the experience of the real woman in labour, reducing her to the condition of a clockwork uterus working to the obstetrician's timetable. The degree to which such criticism is justified is arguable: Smellie's writings emphasized rather than undermined uterine force, and he refuted the traditional view that the child is an active participant in labour, showing that the mechanism of parturition turns and expels the child, who is an entirely passive actor.^{lxxi} What is intriguing is the pertinence of commentary on Smellie's mechanical and mechanized mothers to the automaton-mother in *Perils of Woman*. The 'forlorn object' is 'delivered of' her child 'in due time': she is passive, a mechanical uterus lacking subjectivity, working (like clockwork) to the established timetable.^{lxxii} Post-partum, subjectivity passes to the machine's child, and 'the thing' disappears:

He was the darling and delight of all concerned with him, while she that gave him birth became as a thing altogether forgotten. [...] She was as a thing that had been – that still continued to be, and yet was not!^{lxxiii}

In Gatty Bell, Hogg imagines the inert, mechanical mother detected by Smellie's critics.

Gatty is transformed by the automaton from a nervous, morbid girl – a dangerous razor – to a bewildered, submissive mother, reliant for information about her own body on her husband, the surgeon. Her family agree that a 'total change for the better had taken place in her constitution, as well as her intellectual perceptions'.^{lxxiv} The automaton now seems a reasonable price to pay for this 'sleek, plump' Gatty.^{lxxv} M'Ion's retroactive assessment of her ordeal effaces the disgust he felt towards the ghastly automaton, recasting it as a benign body undergoing

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renovation: but in order to assert this interpretation, he has to stigmatize Gatty's original condition as pathological:

After a while, the body revived, in the same way as a vegetable revives, but the spirit was wanting; and in that state of healthful and moveless lethargy, have you remained for the long space of three years, unknowing and unknown. At the third return of that momentous day, and on the very hour, the living ray of the divinity returned to enlighten a frame renovated in health, and mellowed to ripeness in all its natural functions, which before were overheated and irrestrainable.^{lxxvi}

Meiko O'Halloran makes the important point that M'Ion claims 'not that [Gatty] is now herself, but that she is a *better* self'.^{lxxvii} The qualities of the automaton reverberate back to the body of the young wife, just as the qualities of the automaton of midwifery literature reverberate back to the body of the patient. From razor to the spirit of seasonal revivification, Gatty's body has undergone a hermeneutic migration from monstrosity to sublimity.

M'Ion's hagiography of the automaton is, as O'Halloran observes, both 'overly complacent' and overwhelmed by Gatty's fraught last speech^{lxxviii}:

'I know not what to believe, or what to doubt,' cried she wildly. 'Where have I been? Or rather, *what* have I been? Have I been in a sleep for three years and a day? Have I been in the grave? Or in a madhouse? Or in the land of spirits? Or have I been lying in a state of total insensibility, dead to all the issues of life? What sins may I not have committed during three years of total oblivion?'^{lxxix}

M'Ion assures Gatty of her innocence, but withholds the terrible affirmatives to her other questions – that she *was* dressed for the grave, *was* insensible, and *did* sleep in a madhouse. Gatty is never told her full story. The automaton was incoherent, its experience expressed only through physical symptoms of trauma – contortion, spasm, inchoate sound. The task of interpreting these symptoms passed from Gatty to the 'owners' of her body, her husband and the principal physician of the asylum. Both produce inadequate narratives: M'Ion's recuperative reading attempts to turn the automaton into a kind of Sleeping Beauty; the physician's reports confirm only

Gatty's continued 'bodily health'.^{lxxx} Their calibration of health and sickness is patently at odds with the totality of Gatty's experience. Her pregnancy may be ideal according to the criteria of midwifery literature, in that she is passive, inert, and feels no pain; she may emerge from automatism beautiful, sensible and socialized; but these 'improvements' cannot efface the memory of the 'ghastly automaton'. It is the automaton, not the perfected laird's wife, that returns in later scenes of maternal trauma in the concluding parts of the first and third perils. The recuperative reading fails to contain the automaton.

The Automaton's Legacy

In the perilous history of Scotland described in Hogg's novel, insensibility is perhaps less painful for women than sentience. *Perils of Woman* describes a society that is inherently toxic to women, and particularly to mothers, who exist on the margins of society, on the verge of madness, haunted by echoes of the asylum, their children lost and stolen. The novel's other pregnant women, Katie Rickleton and Sally Niven, seem doomed to repeat Gatty's automatonous degradation. Hogg hints at a barely suppressed systemic loathing of reproduction, as when Daniel - thinking his daughter is pregnant with M'Ion's illegitimate child - turns his anger on his flock, declaring 'I'm tired o' thae breeding creatures [...] I shall thin them for once' and keep only the toops (male sheep).^{lxxxi} Daniel's fantasy of a world without women (specifically, without gravid women) extends even to the animal kingdom. It is a comic episode, yet its twin conceits - male ownership of female bodies, and male suspicion of female fertility ('breed-breeding', to use Daniel's phrase) - are at work in all three perils.^{lxxxii} Nor is Daniel's angry leap from human breed-breeding to pastoral management so eccentric, for behind *Perils of Woman*'s frequent references to improvement and utility stand the Highland Clearances. Daniel's plan to 'improve' M'Ion's Highland estate by stocking it with sheep complements the 'improvement' of Gatty, mistress of the estate; in both cases, improvement is perceived by those experiencing it in a radically different way to those commenting from afar. Daniel's pastoral ideal becomes terrible reality in the concluding peril's decimation of rural Scotland by war. In the first peril, 'Duff', Daniel's prize toop, is destined to repopulate M'Ion's estate with an improved breed of sheep; in the third peril, the gravedigger 'Davie Duff' is retained to conceal the evidence of the massacre at Culloden and the butchery of the

rural population. It is another instance of Hogg's brutal irony: Davie clears the land of the corpses of its original inhabitants, and in the future, his namesake restocks it with more productive flesh. The direction of society is towards reduction, even as it demands reproduction from female bodies. Promising proliferation and continuity (the antithesis to clearance and improvement), the maternal body buckles under the contesting pressures to reproduce and reduce.

Katie's story is a comic reworking of Gatty's tale. She marries Richard Rickleton when pregnant with another man's child, a scheme first attempted by Gatty's parents when they thought she had been seduced by M'Ion. Refusing to give up her illegitimate child, Katie is threatened with the apparatus of the asylum by her doctor, seducer, mother and nurse, who resolve 'to take the child from her by force, even though it should be found necessary to put her in a straightjacket, and bind both her hands and feet'.^{lxxxiii} Katie is rescued from this brutal re-enactment of Gatty's objectification and incarceration by her husband, who unlike M'Ion – and in a remarkable departure from 'polite' morality – does *not* exile his degenerate wife. Though Katie teeters on the edge of subjection, offering to become her husband's 'slave' in gratitude, Rickleton refuses to demean her, declaring her to be 'the lady of my right hand' and adopting her child.^{lxxxiv} If any story in *Perils of Woman* can be said to have a happy ending, it is the Rickletons', which resolves the 'problem' of an undisciplined maternal body by rejecting the moral codes which render it problematic, thereby enfranchising an illegitimate child who, as the adopted emblem of an Anglo-Scottish union, is perhaps a more significant emblem of national unity than Gatty's son, the heir to land enriched by the Highland Clearances.

In reading order, however, *Perils of Woman* concludes not with the joyful moral elasticity of the Rickletons, but with the tragedy of Sally Niven, whose demise and revivification as an animated corpse is 'the narrative issue' of the 'scandalous reduction of the domestic national heroine' in the first peril.^{lxxxv} Like Gatty, Sally is a lowlander married to a highlander, for whom maternity brings insanity and living death. No sentimental heroine, Sally is witty and wily, but proves as vulnerable as Gatty to the pressure of irresistible forces. Her temporary resurrection repeats Gatty's, 'detail for detail'.^{lxxxvi} A male hand reanimates the (apparently) dead body of a pregnant woman, which is actually a living, mad, violent body. Sally's detachment from reality is, like Gatty's, expressed through disconnected speech. Traumatized by the murder of her husband and protector, she speaks with 'an incoherence of

metaphor, and allusions, that a healthful mind would scarcely have framed'.^{lxxxvii} In the devastating conclusion, she is a mad mother singing to her dead daughter in the wilderness, having fled the 'asylum' (a loaded term, given Gatty's fate) provided by sympathizers.^{lxxxviii} Though chronologically Sally's tragedy precedes Gatty's tale, in reading order it reiterates Gatty's degradation, so that the piling up of repetitions creates a feeling of dreadful inevitability – Sally's pregnancy promises not life and reconciliation, but psychological disintegration, death, and the rupture of history. The automaton's legacy is, it seems, inescapable. Though their fates are antithetical (Sally dies, Gatty is perfected), the striking parallelism of their degradation reveals the thesis in the antithesis, so that Sally's degeneration counterpoints Gatty's supposed improvement.

Ostensibly commending the automaton as a maternal ideal, *Perils of Woman* is in fact unremittingly sceptical of reductive practices and interpretations. Gatty's efficient automatism generates a child and a renovated matriarch, but at the price of degradation. Her distress renders uncertain the unification achieved by the automaton, a suspicion that is confirmed by the death of Sally and her daughter, which extinguishes the hopes of the second and third peril for unification and survival. But Gatty's and Sally's dreadful doubling encircles a solitary subversive survivor. Katie Rickleton, the transgressor, delivers and saves the child who – as Richard Rickleton's adopted son – will be heir to a fully-formed, genuine social community. Katie's nested tale ends hopefully with a series of reconciliations and reunions, between Katie and Richard, and thus between Lowland Scotland and Northern England, and between Richard and his inveterate enemy, who petitions to sponsor the child's baptism. 'I AM HAPPY', Richard writes defiantly, and so ends his 'sublime remonstrance on the impropriety of breaking the Seventh Commandment, especially on the part of the women'.^{lxxxix} Katie's redemption from automatonous subjugation is secreted at the centre of the novel's structure of nested narratives, making the transgressive mother, who resisted the paraphernalia of the asylum and escaped subjection, the real heart of the novel. With such a subversive conclusion to such a tale, in such a bewildering novel, it is unsurprising that *The Three Perils of Woman* was not resurrected for a Victorian readership.

Chapter Three

ⁱ James Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman, or Love, Leasing, and Jealousy, a series of Domestic Scottish Tales*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002). All further references are to this edition.

ⁱⁱ On the critical reception of *Perils of Woman*, see David Groves, 'Afterword', in James Hogg, *The Three Perils of a Woman, or Love, Leasing, and Jealousy, a series of Domestic Scottish Tales* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), 409-437. The Afterword appears only in this edition.

ⁱⁱⁱ John Barrell, 'Putting Down the Rising', in Leith Davis, Ian Duncan and Janet Sorensen (eds), *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 130.

^{iv} On Hogg's subversive reinterpretation of the national tale heroine, see Antony J. Hasler, 'Introduction', in Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 2002, and Ian Duncan, *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 208-12.

^v Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 201.

^{vi} Sigmund Freud, 'The Uncanny', in Albert Dickson (ed.), *Art and Literature* (London: Penguin, 1990), 345.

^{vii} See *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/>

^{viii} Freud, 'The Uncanny', 347.

^{ix} Steven Connor, *Dumbstruck: A Cultural History of Ventriloquism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 340-1.

^x David Brewster, *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1830; repr., London: Routledge, 1999), 3:151.

^{xi} Brewster, *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*, 2:62.

^{xii} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 182.

^{xiii} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 182.

^{xiv} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 182-3.

^{xv} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 224.

^{xvi} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 193.

^{xvii} A range of explanations for Gatty's illness have been proposed, including venereal disease, catatonic schizophrenia, hysteria, and divine retribution. See David Groves, 'James Hogg's Confessions and *The Three Perils of Woman* and the Edinburgh Prostitution Scandal of 1823', *Wordsworth Circle* 18 (1987), 127-31; 'The *Three Perils of Woman* and the Edinburgh Prostitution Scandal of 1823', *Studies in Hogg and his World* 2 (1991), 95-102; and 'Afterword' in Hogg, *The Three Perils of a Woman*, 1995; Barbara Bloedé, 'Hogg and the Edinburgh Prostitution Scandal', *Newsletter of the James Hogg Society* 8 (1989), 15-18; and Barbara Bloedé, 'The *Three Perils of Woman* and the Edinburgh Prostitution Scandal: A Reply to Dr Groves', *Studies in Hogg and His World* 3 (1992), 88-94.

^{xviii} Duncan, *Scott's Shadow*, 210.

^{xix} James Hogg, *Anecdotes of Scott* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 61; and Duncan, *Scott's Shadow*, 208.

^{xx} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 199.

^{xxi} Duncan, *Scott's Shadow*, 209.

^{xxii} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 203.

^{xxiii} John Aldini, *General Views on the Application of Galvanism to Medical Purposes; Principally in Cases of Suspended Animation* (London: Callow, 1819), 26.

^{xxiv} Duncan, *Scott's Shadow*, 210.

^{xxv} Gatty's reanimation has previously been discussed in relation to Aldini's experiments: see Duncan, *Scott's Shadow*, 209; and Richard D. Jackson, 'Gatty Bell's Illness in James Hogg's *The Three Perils of Woman*', *Studies in Hogg and his World* 14 (2003), 16-29..

^{xxvi} On the stylistic scission of the version in Ure's *Dictionary of Chemistry* (1821), see Charlotte Sleight, 'Life, Death and Galvanism', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 29 (1998), 243-44.

^{xxvii} Andrew Ure, 'An Account of Some Experiments Made on the Body of a Criminal Immediately after Execution, with Physiological and Practional Observations', *Journal of Science and the Arts* 6 (1819), 290.

^{xxviii} Ure, 'An Account of Some Experiments', 292.

- ^{xxix} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 199-200.
- ^{xxx} Ure, 'An Account of Some Experiments', 289.
- ^{xxxi} Sleight, 'Life, Death and Galvanism', 243.
- ^{xxxii} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 201.
- ^{xxxiii} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 201.
- ^{xxxiv} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 201.
- ^{xxxv} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 202, 201, 203, 204, my emphasis.
- ^{xxxvi} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 202, my emphasis.
- ^{xxxvii} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 205.
- ^{xxxviii} Antony J. Hasler, 'The Three Perils of Woman and John Wilson's *Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life*', *Studies in Hogg and his World* 1 (1990), 33.
- ^{xxdix} Barrell, 'Putting Down the Rising', 131; and Douglas Mack, 'Hogg and Angels', *Studies in Hogg and his World*, 15 (2004), 21.
- ^{xi} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 224.
- ^{xli} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 224.
- ^{xlii} Mack, 'Hogg and Angels', 94.
- ^{xliii} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 206.
- ^{xliv} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 204.
- ^{xlvi} Duncan, *Scott's Shadow*, 211.
- ^{xlvi} Lisa Forman Cody, *Birthing the Nation: Sex, Science, and the Conception of Eighteenth-Century Britons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 27.
- ^{xlvi} Duncan, *Scott's Shadow*, 210.
- ^{xlvi} Gillian Hughes, *James Hogg: A Life* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 173.
- ^{xlvi} John Thatcher, *A Letter to the Lord Provost and Patrons of the University of Edinburgh, On the Proposed New Regulations Respecting the Study of Midwifery* (Edinburgh: Carfrae, 1825), 6.
- Professionalization in fact progressed slowly. Professor James Hamilton was not admitted to the Medical Faculty until 1830, and even then, the diploma in midwifery was issued separately from the graduation diploma. See A.R. Simpson, 'History of Chair of Midwifery and the Diseases of Women and Children in the University of Edinburgh', *Edinburgh Medical Journal* 29 (1998), 496.
- ⁱ Ornella Moscucci, *The Science of Woman: Gynaecology and Gender in England, 1800-1929* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 48-9.
- ⁱⁱ Andrea K. Henderson, *Romantic Identities: Varieties of Subjectivity 1774-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 12.
- ^{lii} Bryan Hibbard, *The Obstetrician's Armamentarium: Historical Obstetric Instruments and Their Inventors* (San Anselmo, CA: Norman, 2000), 79.
- ^{liii} Hibbard, *The Obstetrician's Armamentarium*, 80.
- ^{liv} R. W. Johnstone, *William Smellie: The Master of British Midwifery* (Edinburgh: E&S Livingstone, 1952), 26.
- ^{lv} Samuel Paterson, *A Catalogue of the Entire and Inestimable Apparatus for Lectures in Midwifery, Contrived with Consummate Judgment, and Executed with Infinite Labour, by the Late Ingenious Dr. William Smellie, Deceased: Consisting of a Variety of Anatomical Preparations, Illustrating the Theory of Midwifery, the Original Drawings by Rymsdyk, from which his Engravings were Made, his Exquisite Artificial Machines, in Imitation of the Living Subjects, his Collection of Obstetrical Instruments, English and Foreign* (London: Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists, 1770), 6.
- ^{lvi} Paterson, *A Catalogue*, 6.
- ^{lvii} William Smellie, *A Course of Lectures upon Midwifery, wherein the Theory and Practice of that Art are Explain'd in the Clearest Manner. More particularly, the Structure of the Pelvis and Uterus. Of the Foetus in Utero, and after Parturition. The Management of Child-Bearing Women, during Pregnancy, in time of Labour, and after Delivery. The Manner of Delivering Women, in all the Variety of Natural, Difficult, and Preternatural Labours, Perform'd on Different Machines made in Imitation of Real Women and Children* (London, 1745), Wellcome Library MS 4630.
- ^{lviii} William Smellie, *A Course of Lectures upon Midwifery*, 5.
- ^{lix} William Smellie, *Smellie's Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Midwifery* (London: The New Sydenham Society, 1876), 25.
- ^{lx} Smellie, *A Course of Lectures upon Midwifery*, 44.
- ^{lxi} T. Percy Kirkpatrick, *The Book of the Rotunda Hospital: An Illustrated History of the Dublin Lying-In Hospital From its Foundation in 1745 to the Present Time* (London: Bartholomew, 1913), 81-82.
- ^{lxii} Cody, *Birthing the Nation*, 169.

^{lxiii} Pam Lieske, 'William Smellie's Use of Obstetrical Machines and the Poor', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 29 (2000), 65-86.

^{lxiv} Bonnie Blackwell, 'Tristram Shandy and the Theater of the Mechanical Mother', *ELH* 68 (2001), 92-3, 127.

^{lxv} Henderson, *Romantic Identities*, 16.

^{lxvi} William Smellie, 'Preface' to *A Sett of Anatomical Tables, With Explanations, and an Abridgment, of the Practice of Midwifery, With a View to Illustrate a Treatise On that Subject, and Collection of Cases* (London, 1754).

^{lxvii} William Hunter, 'Preface' to *The Anatomy of the Gravid Uterus Exhibited in Figures* (Birmingham: Baskerville, 1774).

^{lxviii} Henderson, *Romantic Identities*, 14-15.

^{lxix} Robbie E. Davis-Floyd, 'The Technocratic Model of Birth', in Philip K. Wilson (ed.), *The Medicalization of Obstetrics: Personnel, Practice and Instruments* (New York and London: Garland, 1996), 251.

^{lxx} Ludmilla Jordanova, *Sexual Visions: Images of Gender in Science and Medicine between the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989), 61-2.

^{lxxi} John Glaister, *Dr. William Smellie and his Contemporaries: A Contribution to the History of Midwifery in the Eighteenth Century* (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1894), 192.

^{lxxii} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 204.

^{lxxiii} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 205.

^{lxxiv} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 215.

^{lxxv} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 217.

^{lxxvi} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 224.

^{lxxvii} Meiko O'Halloran, 'Treading the Borders of Fiction: Veracity, Identity and Corporeality in *The Three Perils*', *Studies in Hogg and his World* 12 (2001), 48-9.

^{lxxviii} O'Halloran, 'Treading the Borders of Fiction', 48-9.

^{lxxix} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 223.

^{lxxx} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 203.

^{lxxxi} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 117.

^{lxxxii} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 117.

^{lxxxiii} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 239.

^{lxxxiv} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 255.

^{lxxxv} Duncan, *Scott's Shadow*, 212.

^{lxxxvi} Barrell, 'Putting Down the Rising', 134.

^{lxxxvii} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 398.

^{lxxxviii} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 406-7.

^{lxxxix} Hogg, *The Three Perils of Woman*, 258-9.

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Chapter Four